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RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN CICERO'S *CATO MAIOR* AND *LAELIUS*  
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## RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN CICERO'S *CATO MAIOR* AND *LAELIUS*

While I was rereading overseas in the land of their origin both the *Cato Maior de Senectute* and the *Laelius de Amicitia*, I was impressed by the close relation which these works bear to each other. After I had resumed my academic duties, I took time to ascertain whether or not this connection had been exploited in print apart from what incidental cross-references in commentaries to their texts occur. When I had obtained a negative result of my investigation, I decided to make the resemblances between these essays the subject of the following discussion, in the hope that it might be useful to those who teach these treatises.

It appears that M. Tullius Cicero (106-43) composed both works in the year 44; while the *Cato Maior* may have been written before Caesar's murder on 15 March,<sup>1</sup> yet the *Laelius* was produced after the dictator's death.<sup>2</sup> That the *De Senectute* preceded the *De Amicitia* there is no doubt, because in his *Laelius* Cicero mentions his *Cato Maior*.<sup>3</sup> But it is still controverted how early in 44 the *Cato Maior* was completed. Since different critics argue differently from the same evidence, since no consensus of opinions is likely to be achieved, since the connection between the two treatises is sufficiently close in date (within a twelvemonth), any contribution which I might make, if I were so minded to treat this matter, seems impertinent to the present purpose, which is merely to indicate the general time of composition and not to take sides on a problem neither possessing any pressing importance nor affecting in any way the thesis of this article.

Each essay is dedicated to T. Pomponius Atticus (109-32):<sup>4</sup> the *De Senectute* because both

Cicero and Atticus are approaching old age (2);<sup>5</sup> the *De Amicitia* because Atticus and Cicero are mutual friends (5).<sup>6</sup> Each dedication not only is a charming tribute from Cicero to Atticus, but also makes a graceful preface to the exposition of the theme.

Although the treatises are of unequal length (the *Laelius* being a little longer than the *Cato Maior*),<sup>7</sup> nevertheless there is a physical similarity in that each work is cast in the form of a dialogue. In each dialogue there are three interlocutors: the *Cato Maior* has: (1) M. Porcius Cato Censorius (234-149), who is the principal speaker; (2) P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor Numantinus (c. 185-129); (3) C. Laelius Sapiens (186-?);<sup>8</sup> the *Laelius* has: (1) C. Laelius Sapiens, who converses with his son-in-law; (2) Q. Mucius Scaevola Augur (c. 157-c. 87); and (3) C. Fannius Strabo.<sup>9</sup> The appearance of Laelius in each dialogue constitutes an additional link, although in the *De Senectute* he plays a fairly passive part (*Laelius* 11) and in the *De Amicitia* he assumes an active role (*Laelius* 5). Again, in both dialogues one of the younger interlocutors inaugurates the conversation: in the *Cato Maior* Scipio (4), and Fannius in the *Laelius* (6). Another connection between the *dramatis personae* of the dialogues, if we may apply that term to the speakers, is that in the *De Amicitia* Laelius presents for the most part the views of his friend Scipio (e.g., 14, 33, 59, 62, 70, 77 *et alibi*), who appears in the *De Senectute*. A final point concerning the characters of the dialogues comes from the Roman tendency to idealize the past and to praise the men of a by-gone age. This type of discourse, based on the influence of men of old times and especially of those who were illustrious, seemed in some way to have greater dignity (*Laelius* 4). Cicero ex-

plains to Atticus that he assigned the discussion of old age to the old man Cato, that the speech might have more weight and because no other person seemed more suitable to talk about that period of life than he who both for a very long time had been old and in that very old age had flourished beyond all other men (*Laelius* 4), while he gave the presentation of friendship to Laelius, on the ground that, since the intimacy of Scipio and Laelius was most noteworthy and because Laelius was distinguished by a glorious friendship, he appeared to be a person fit to expound views on friendship (*Laelius* 4-5).

The structure of the dialogues is similar. As in all his other dialogues save one,<sup>10</sup> Cicero prefers here the Aristotelian to the Platonic type of dialogue. In the latter we have usually among several speakers, although one is commonly the chief debater, a constant exchange of question and answer; in the former we find ordinarily one principal interlocutor, who presents a connected and almost continuous discourse, after the other participants have made some introductory remarks. The *De Senectute* is a better example of the Aristotelian dialogue than is the *De Amicitia*, for in the former after § 8 Cato's presentation of old age proceeds uninterruptedly to the end of the essay and in the latter the discussion of friendship, begun by Laelius in § 17, is broken by observations from his auditors in §§ 25, 32, 33. In neither instance, however, are the auditors forgotten by the protagonist, because from time to time he addresses them by name and employs frequently the first and the second persons in the plural number of the verbs,—thus maintaining an atmosphere of verisimilitude. A part of this air also are the digressions which occasionally occur in both dialogues. Of these more exist in the *Cato Maior* than in the *Laelius*, for naturally one expects an oldster like Cato to wander from the matter in hand.<sup>11</sup>

In respect to the author both dialogues are projected to a date before Cicero's birth. The conversation in the *Cato Maior* is supposed to have occurred in 150 (14; cf. *Laelius* 11) and the discourse in the *Laelius* is imagined to have happened in 129 (3).

I shall examine next the resemblance seen in the selection of literary contributions from other writers. Since each dialogue deals with a sepa-

rate subject, the residuum of allusions to, quotations from, paraphrases of others' works common to each essay is small. There seem to be only seven authors who satisfy this condition, that Cicero either mentions or uses their writings in both dialogues. These are: Euripides, Plato, Xenophon, T. Maccius Plautus, Q. Ennius, Caecilius Statius, P. Terentius Afer. On the Greek side borrowings from and reminiscences of Plato are more than double those pertaining to Euripides and Xenophon combined. To these three authors the debt in the *Cato Maior* is more than twice as much as that in the *Laelius*.<sup>12</sup> It may be remarked that the same oracle about Socrates occurs in each essay<sup>13</sup> and that in each dialogue is quoted a long statement made by Archytas the Pythagorean.<sup>14</sup> On the Latin side Ennius is the largest single contributor, but he is almost doubly overshadowed by his three compatriots taken together. Again the *Cato Maior* has more allusions, citations, quotations, paraphrases than has the *Laelius*,—this time twice as many.<sup>15</sup> It may be noted that one of the quotations from Statius appears in each dialogue<sup>16</sup> and that in the *De Amicitia* Cicero quotes (76 and 90) two sayings of Cato, who is the chief speaker in the *De Senectute*. As may be expected from the subject-matter, in both treatises are many references to Stoicism and to Epicureanism, the two popular Hellenistic philosophies. It is not a matter for marvel that the *Laelius* contains far more of these than has the *Cato Maior*,<sup>17</sup> because these sects had more to say on the topic of friendship than on that of senility. Perhaps here may be mentioned that in each treatise Cicero refers by name to two laws.<sup>18</sup>

In each dialogue abound references to personages, whether mythical or historical. Some of those mentioned in the *Cato Maior* reappear in the *Laelius*. The total of those common to both essays surpasses sixteen.<sup>19</sup> Socrates is the Greek most frequently named, while of the Romans, if we omit the interlocutors, the most often mentioned is Q. Ennius.

The greatest resemblance, however, appears in thought, diction, style. While I have examined both dialogues thoroughly for examples, to catalogue here all the likenesses both would require more space than the editor probably would permit me to use and doubtlessly would exhaust the



reader's patience. Therefore, I shall select those similarities which to me seem to be the most striking.

And first, similarity of thought. Here are several philosophical commonplaces, often with some resemblance in language: (1) the Platonic notion that the soul is imprisoned by the body;<sup>20</sup> (2) the Stoic doctrine that the wise man is self-sufficient;<sup>21</sup> (3) the Stoic maxim that Nature is the best guide;<sup>22</sup> (4) the Stoic belief in immortality;<sup>23</sup> (5) the Epicurean teaching that death ends all;<sup>24</sup> (6) the Epicurean criterion of pleasure.<sup>25</sup> With this class may be associated the conception of the relation of posterity to deceased ancestors.<sup>26</sup> In each essay Cato is considered the favorite of Fortune in his old age<sup>27</sup> and his cognomen of Sapiens is explained.<sup>28</sup> Similarity of expression in the vagueness of tradition occurs in both dialogues,<sup>29</sup> which also contain the identical device of prophecy after the event.<sup>30</sup> A fertile field in theatrical terms is found in both treatises,<sup>31</sup> which occasionally use the same words. Nor is neglected the world of sport, where horse-racing is mentioned in similar phrases.<sup>32</sup> The same figure about wine appears in both the *Cato Maior* and the *Laelius*.<sup>33</sup> But perhaps the most celebrated parallel between the two works, I suppose, is that often quoted in our Latin grammars as an example of juxtaposition of opposites for contrast: Cato speaks of his youthful affection for Q. Fabius Maximus in the latter's old age and Laelius tells of his juvenile fondness for five old worthies.<sup>34</sup>

Many of the same rules of grammar used in the *Cato Maior* are repeated in the *Laelius*. Of these the most noteworthy are the following: conative present participle;<sup>35</sup> passive use of perfect participle of deponent verb;<sup>36</sup> *habere* as auxiliary verb with perfect participle;<sup>37</sup> *memini* and present infinitive for vivid presentation;<sup>38</sup> future perfect occasionally used in both protasis and apodosis, though one action really proceeds from another,—but these are almost, if not quite, simultaneous;<sup>39</sup> periphrastic future differing from simple future, in that the action is represented as dependent on power or intention of agent or of others, on nature of case, on outward relations or circumstances;<sup>40</sup> imperfect subjunctive sometimes in clauses contrary to fact in past time;<sup>41</sup> substitution of imperfect for present in sequence

of tenses after leading verb in perfect;<sup>42</sup> introduction of two forms or of two tenses of the same verb by employment of *et . . . et*;<sup>43</sup> Latin preference for personal construction, when English idiom requires impersonal construction;<sup>44</sup> omission of negative in first clause, when two negative clauses have in common a verb;<sup>45</sup> relative pronoun explained by subsequent clause;<sup>46</sup> two superlatives in same clause, when subject is indefinite, to denote parallelism of two actions or qualities;<sup>47</sup> adjective, in sense qualifying antecedent, sometimes incorporated into relative clause and made to agree with relative pronouns;<sup>48</sup> attraction of substantive into relative clause, when this substantive is in apposition to a preceding word, which is explained by relative clause;<sup>49</sup> adversative connection, where relative pronoun is equivalent to *sed* plus a form of *is*;<sup>50</sup> interchange of meanings of *hic* and *ille*, when contrary to general usage the first refers to the former or the remoter and the second refers to the latter or the nearer;<sup>51</sup> nominative singular neuter of adjective as substantive governing genitive;<sup>52</sup> neuter plural of adjective, rare save in nominative or accusative, without substantive;<sup>53</sup> plural of abstract nouns to denote particular kinds, instances, manifestations, portions of that which these mark;<sup>54</sup> plural of proper nouns to denote a class;<sup>55</sup> addition of pronoun with *quidem*, when two qualifications are joined to an object, of which the first is conceded and the second is contrasted with it and made more prominent than it;<sup>56</sup> simple for compound word;<sup>57</sup> corrective *quamquam*;<sup>58</sup> explanatory *etenim*, introducing a general discussion, rather than inferential;<sup>59</sup> adversative *-que*;<sup>60</sup> rhetorical *quid?*;<sup>61</sup> apologetic *quasi*;<sup>62</sup> contrasting *quidem*;<sup>63</sup> resumptive *sed*.<sup>64</sup>

Verbal resemblances, ranging from individual words to complete phrases, abound. Here may be mentioned *conglutinare*, a favorite word of Cicero and very rare elsewhere;<sup>65</sup> *ad te de senectute*;<sup>66</sup> *haud scio an*;<sup>67</sup> *nescio quo pacto*;<sup>68</sup> *nescio quo modo*;<sup>69</sup> *optimi cuiusque animus*;<sup>70</sup> *ad vespereum*;<sup>71</sup> *naturam optimam ducem*.<sup>72</sup> Insignificant variations of the following phrases found in the *De Senectute* occur in the *De Amicitia*: *optimi adulescentes*;<sup>73</sup> *invitus feci ut . . . eicerem*;<sup>74</sup> *a natura datam*;<sup>75</sup> *invitat atque allecat*;<sup>76</sup> *quanta . . . posset maxima*;<sup>77</sup> *vitam nullam*;<sup>78</sup> *sensus moriendi*;<sup>79</sup> *corporum vinculis*;<sup>80</sup> *quod . . . facile*

...ferat;<sup>81</sup> est in manibus laudatio;<sup>82</sup> quod contra decuit;<sup>83</sup> sibi habeant igitur;<sup>84</sup> ut sunt, sic;<sup>85</sup> adsit ... absit;<sup>86</sup> omnia ... ad voluptatem ... referenda;<sup>87</sup> ad ipsos pertinere;<sup>88</sup> a senibus audisse;<sup>89</sup> ex quo ... nominata est;<sup>90</sup> illud Solonis.<sup>91</sup> The best variation is found in the last sentence of each dialogue, which begins *Haec habui de ... quae dicerem* and where for the object of *de* is read in the former *senectute* and in the latter *amicitia*.<sup>92</sup> Cicero's partiality for synonyms, especially when arranged in alliterative doublets, appears in these treatises and reinforces the argument of the resemblance between the *Cato Maior* and the *Laelius*.<sup>93</sup>

Figures of style are frequent in each dialogue: over a score of the readily recognized stylistic devices are common to both essays and are employed not seldom.<sup>94</sup> As may be expected, alliteration,<sup>95</sup> anaphora,<sup>96</sup> asyndeton,<sup>97</sup> chiasmus,<sup>98</sup> head the list in frequency; others are anacoluthon,<sup>99</sup> assonance,<sup>100</sup> climax,<sup>101</sup> conjunction,<sup>102</sup> etymological figure,<sup>103</sup> ellipsis,<sup>104</sup> exclamation,<sup>105</sup> homoeoptoton,<sup>106</sup> homoeoteleuton,<sup>107</sup> inversion,<sup>108</sup> juxtaposition,<sup>109</sup> litotes,<sup>110</sup> metonymy,<sup>111</sup> oxymoron,<sup>112</sup> personification,<sup>113</sup> polysyndeton,<sup>114</sup> praeterition,<sup>115</sup> simile,<sup>116</sup> tautology,<sup>117</sup> zeugma.<sup>118</sup>

In conclusion I think that I have assembled enough evidence to support the impression which the renewed acquaintance of these treatises made upon me in moments snatched from the prosecution of military duties. While others perhaps have preceded me in reaching this opinion, yet nowhere have I found the thesis of the resemblance between the *Cato Maior* and the *Laelius* so explicitly elaborated. Perhaps, also, the resemblances are so obvious to those who have considered the matter carefully, that to institute such a comparison as this has been thought otiose. On the other hand, the teachers of these treatises, if place for these in our curricula still is found, may welcome such facts as I have collected and in these may discover some slight inspiration for their instruction.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> In his *De Divinatione*, of which the latter half obviously was composed after Caesar's assassination (II.2.7), Cicero names his *Cato Maior* as recently (*nuper*) incorporated into the series of philosophical works on which he has been engaged (II.1.3). Because we know not

when after the Ides of March the treatise on divination was finished, any interpretation of *nuper* is a matter of conjecture.

Without estimating the value which Cicero puts upon *nuper* in its more than 150 appearances in his works, we may confine our attention to only one occurrence of it,—and that, too, from this treatise, where (I.39.86) Cicero writes: ... *ante philosophiam patefactam, quae nuper inventa est*. ... If in the First Book he can give so wide a meaning to *nuper* as to apply it to the dawn of philosophical investigation, what can we expect him to mean in the Second Book, where he mentions the composition of the *Cato Maior* as *nuper*? But there a lower limit for the date of the *Cato Maior* can be set at 11 May 44, for on that day Cicero says in his *Epistulae ad Atticum* (XIV.21.3) that this Book has been sent to Atticus.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero refers to the completed *Laelius* in his *De Officiis* (II.9.31), of which the first two Books were finished by 5 Nov 44 according to what Cicero tells Atticus (*Ad Att.* XVI.11.4).

<sup>3</sup> *Laelius* 4; cf. 11. References to the *Cato Maior* and to the *Laelius* are by sections.

Corroboration, if wanted, comes from his *De Divinatione* (II.1.3), where Cicero includes his *Cato Maior* among the philosophical productions which he has completed and where he makes no mention of his *Laelius*.

<sup>4</sup> After 58, when his uncle had adopted Atticus in his will, his name became Q. Caecilius [Q. F.] Pomponianus Atticus. Cicero's letter of congratulation to Atticus is extant (*Ad Att.* III.20).

<sup>5</sup> When the *Cato Maior* was written, Cicero was 62 and Atticus was 65.

<sup>6</sup> Cicero began to study law under the augur Q. Mucius Scaevola about the year 89, when Atticus was also his fellow-student (*De Legibus* I.4.13).

<sup>7</sup> The *Cato Maior* contains 23 chapters and 85 sections; the *Laelius* comprises 27 chapters and 104 sections. The latter exceeds the former by 14 pages.

<sup>8</sup> How long Laelius survived 129, the supposed date of the dialogue in the *De Amicitia*, is not known.

<sup>9</sup> It is quite impossible to reconcile ancient and modern statements found for Fannius. Some scholars suppose that there was only one Fannius, others recognize two Fannii, others even believe that there were three Fannii.

Cicero, considering that there were two Fannii, each with the praenomen Gaius (*Brutus* 26.99), asks Atticus for clarification concerning them (*Ad Att.* XII.5.3 and XVI.13c.2). In his *De Republica*, which contains a dialogue in the same year (129) as that of his *Laelius*, Cicero says that Fannius was of quaestorian age at that time (I.12.18). This age we believe to have been about 30 years, because, if Cicero's statement (*De Off.* II.27.59) that he had been elected to each of his offices at the earliest possible period of eligibility (*anno suo*) is true, then Cicero attained the quaestorship in his 30th year according to the provisions of the Lex Villia Annalis of 180 since he served at Lilybaeum as quaestor in 75, when he was 31 years of age (*Brut.* 92.318–93.319).

The problem of identification is further complicated by Plutarch, who in his *Vita Tiberi et Cai Gracchorum* (4.4) preserves the assertion of the writer Fannius that he was one of the first to scale the walls of Carthage in 146. This Fannius seems to have been the historian who was the son-in-law of Laelius (*Ad Att.* XII.5.3). But if he was 30 in 129, then in 146 Fannius must have been 13. While it is not impossible, it is improbable that at that tender age (if we allow for the early maturity of Italian youth and the later use of equally-young British midshipmen) Fannius could have performed that exploit.

At any rate, we know neither the birth-date nor the death-date of any C. Fannius.

<sup>10</sup> *De Partitione Oratoria*, in which, however, three speeches require more than 10 sections each (70-82, 83-97, 98-113).

But it must be admitted that the extant portions of the *De Republica* and the *De Legibus* are somewhat Platonic in structure.

<sup>11</sup> *CM.* 10-12, 31, 43-44, 55-56, 66-67, 72; *L.* 1, 39-41, 45-55, 91-100.

<sup>12</sup> *CM.*: Euripides: 4, *Hercules Furens* 638-642; 77, *Polyidus*. Plato: 4-9, *Politeia* 328B-331D; 7, *Symposium* 195B; 26, *Menexenus* 236A, *Euthydemus* 272C; 44, *Timaeus* 69D; 47, *Politeia* 329BC; 73, *Phaedo* 61C-62C; 77 & 81, *Phaedo* 67D and *Cratylus* 400C; 78, *Phaedo* 72E-77B, 78C-80E, *Phaedrus* 245C-246A, *Meno* 81E-86C; 83, *Apologia* 41A-C. Xenophon: 30, *Cyropaedia* VIII.7.6; 46, *Symposium* 2.26; 59, *Oeconomicus* 4.20-25; 79-81, *Cyropaedia* VIII.7.17-22. *L.*: Euripides: 45, *Hippolytus* 253-257. Plato: 3, *Theaetetus* 142C-143C; 13, *Phaedrus* 245C-246A, 248E, *Phaedo* 79D, 80D, 107D-108C, 113D-114C; 14, *Phaedo* 67D and *Cratylus* 400C; 19, *Apologia* 30A; 30, *Lysis* 215B. Xenophon: 62, *Memorabilia* II.4.1-4.

<sup>13</sup> While Plato in his *Apologia* gives the Pythian reply as *μηδὲνα σοφώτερον εἶναι* (21A), the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Nubes* 144 quotes the decree as *σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Ἐυριπίδης*; *ἀνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σοκράτης σοφώτατος*. The loci are *CM.* 78; *L.* 7, 10, 13.

<sup>14</sup> *CM.* 39-41; *L.* 88.

<sup>15</sup> *CM.*: Plautus: 50, *Pseudolus* and *Truculentus* (titles only). Ennius: 1, 10, 14, 16, 50, *Annales*; 73, *Varia*. Statius: 24, *Synepheboe*; 25, *Plocium*; 25, *Ephesio*; 36, *Epiclerus*. Terentius: 35, *Phormio* 575; 65, *Adelphoe* (title only). *L.*: Plautus: 98, *Miles Gloriosus* (title inferred). Ennius: 22 & 64, *Varia*. Statius: 99, *Epiclerus*. Terentius: 89, *Andria* 66; 93, *Eunuchus* 252-253; 98, *Eunuchus* 391.

<sup>16</sup> While the *Laelius* exhibits two lines from the *Epiclerus* in 99, the *Cato Maior* cites only the last half of the first line in 36.

<sup>17</sup> *CM.*: Stoicism: 4, 5, 23, 51, 71, 73; Epicureanism: 43-45, 47, 85. *L.*: Stoicism: 6-8, 10, 18-21, 38, 48, 100; Epicureanism: 13, 14, 24, 26, 32, 45, 46, 51, 52. Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans are either mentioned or meant in *CM.* 23, 33, 73, 78 and in *L.* 13.

<sup>18</sup> *CM.*: Lex Cincia 10, Lex Voconia 14; *L.*: Lex Gabinia and Lex Cassia 41.

<sup>19</sup> These are presented best in the following table:

	<i>CM.</i>	<i>L.</i>
Apollo .....	78	7, 10, 13
Themistocles .....	8, 21	42
Socrates .....	26, 59, 78	7, 10, 13
Archytas .....	39-41	88
Pyrrhus .....	16, 43, 55	28
Hannibal .....	10	28
Maelius .....	56	28, 36
Curius .....	15, 43, 55, 56	18, 28, 39
Fabricius .....	15, 43	18, 28
Coruncanus .....	15, 27, 43	18, 28, 39
Ennius .....	1, 10, 14, 16, 50, 73	22, 64
Cato .....	3, 4, 6-8	4-6, 9-11, 21, 76, 90, 101
Paulus .....	15, 82	9, 21, 101
Galus .....	49	9, 21, 101
Laelius .....	3, 4, 6-9, 28, 35, 77, 85	1, 2, 4-6, 8, 15-17, 26, 32, 33
Scipio .....	3, 4, 6, 9, 19, 28, 29, 34, 35, 49, 68, 77, 82, 85	3-7, 10-12, 14, 15, 21, 33, 51, 59, 60, 62, 69, 73, 77, 96, 101-103
Atticus .....	1	2

<sup>20</sup> *CM.* 70, 77, 80, 81; *L.* 14. Note the phrases: *compagibus corporis* (77), *corporum vinculis* (81), *vinclis corporis* (14).

<sup>21</sup> *CM.* 4 (*Quibus . . . est*); *L.* 7 (*Hanc . . . putes*).

<sup>22</sup> *CM.* 5 (*quod . . . paremus*); *L.* 19 (*quia . . . ducem*). Note the phrases: *naturam optimam ducem* (5) and *naturam optimam . . . ducem* (19).

<sup>23</sup> *CM.* 77 (*Ego . . . nominanda*); *L.* 102 (*Mihi . . . vivet*).

<sup>24</sup> *CM.* 85 (*sin . . . irrideant*); *L.* 13 (*Neque . . . deleri*) and 14 (*Sin . . . mali*).

<sup>25</sup> *CM.* 43 (*quendam . . . referenda*); *L.* 32 (*qui . . . referunt*). Note the phrases: *omnia . . . ad voluptatem esse referenda* (43) and *ad voluptatem omnia referunt* (32).

<sup>26</sup> *CM.* 82 (*Nemo . . . pertinere*); *L.* 13 (*Plus . . . arbitrantur*). Note the phrases: *ad ipsos pertinere* (82) and *ad eos pertinere* (13).

<sup>27</sup> *CM.* 8 (*Est . . . contingere*); *L.* 4 (*Catonem . . . florisset*).

<sup>28</sup> *CM.* 5 (*Quocirca . . . sapientes*); *L.* 6 (*Cato . . . sapientis*).

<sup>29</sup> *CM.* 43 (*Saepe . . . dicebant*); *L.* 88 (*dici . . . auditum*). Note the phrases: *a senibus audisse* (43) and *ab . . . senibus auditum* (88).

<sup>30</sup> *CM.* 18 (*Carthagini . . . persequare*); *L.* 41 (*De . . . augurari*). In the former case four years and in the latter case six years elapsed from the supposed date of the dialogue to the event foreshadowed, while in each case, of course, the event had happened ere Cicero's birth.

<sup>31</sup> *CM.* 5, 20, 22, 48, 64, 70, 85; *L.* 3, 4, 11, 24, 97, 100. Note the words: *scena* (5 & 97), *cavea* (48 & 24), *fabula* (22, 64, 70, 85 & 100).

<sup>32</sup> *CM.* 83; *L.* 16, 40, 101. Note the words: *spatium* (83 & 40), *carcer* (83 & 101), *calx* (83 & 101).

<sup>33</sup> *CM.* 65 (*vinum . . . coacescit*); *L.* 67 (*vina . . .*



ferunt). In each locus appears *vetustas*.

<sup>34</sup> CM. 10 (*Ego . . . dilexi*); L. 101 (*Hac . . . dileximus*). Subject stands beside object, the nouns in apposition with both subject and object are the same, the same verb appears.

<sup>35</sup> CM. 11 (*dividenti*), 54 (*lenientem*); L. 75 (*impedi-entem*).

<sup>36</sup> CM. 4 (*adeptam*), 59 (*dimensa*); L. 63 (*periclitatis*).

<sup>37</sup> CM. 66 (*sollicitam habere*); L. 52 (*habent cognitam*), 97 (*exploratum habeas*).

<sup>38</sup> CM. 30 (*memini . . . esse*); L. 2 (*memini . . . incidere*).

<sup>39</sup> CM. 6 (*feceris . . . didicerimus*); L. 16 (*feceris . . . disputaris*).

<sup>40</sup> CM. 6 (*futurum est*), 67 (*futurus sum*); L. 83 (*futura est*).

<sup>41</sup> CM. 19 (*si . . . vixisset . . . paeniteret*); L. 13 (*quod . . . fecissent . . . si . . . arbitrantur*).

<sup>42</sup> CM. 78 (*Sic mihi persuasi . . . recordari*); L. 46 (*Alios . . . beati*). In the former case there is a shift from the presents *sit*, *contineat*, *agitetur*, *habeat*, *moveat* to *esset*, *haberet*, *posset* and back to *discant*, *arripiant*, *videantur*. In the latter case there is a change from *haberet* to *quaerant* and *putentur*; *dicere* apparently has the force of *dixisse* and Cicero follows therefore the law of sense, which often outweighs the technical considerations of sequence of tenses.

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<sup>46</sup> CM. 84 (*quod . . . meum*); L. 53 (*Quod . . . exultantem*).

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<sup>50</sup> CM. 7 (*qui . . . videbantur*); L. 71 (*Quorum . . . exprobrant*).

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<sup>55</sup> CM. 13 (*Scipiones aut Maximii*), 15 (*Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii*); L. 21 (*Paulos, Catones, Galos, Scipiones,*

*Philos*), 94 (*Gnathonum*).

<sup>56</sup> CM. 65 (*Ac . . . videatur*); L. 66 (*Tristitia . . . proclivior*).

<sup>57</sup> CM. 27 (*utrum for utrumcumque*); L. 33 (*ponerentur for deponerentur*).

<sup>58</sup> CM. 1, 10, 47, 51, 67, 69; L. 29, 33, 54, 97.

<sup>59</sup> CM. 15; L. 40.

<sup>60</sup> CM. 43, 74; L. 21, 30, 88, 104.

<sup>61</sup> CM. 26, 45, 78, 83; L. 25, 30, 50, 64.

<sup>62</sup> CM. 47; L. 3, 6, 27, 48, 56, 62, 92.

<sup>63</sup> CM. 8, 27, 50, 65; L. 12, 51, 66, 68.

<sup>64</sup> CM. 72; L. 5.

<sup>65</sup> CM. 72 (*conglutinavit . . . dissolvit*); L. 32 (*conglutinet . . . dissolveret*). In CM. 72 occurs also *conglutinatio*, which is found elsewhere only in Cicero's *Orator* 23.78.

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<sup>67</sup> CM. 56, 73; L. 20, 43. In L. 51 is *haud sciam an* and in CM. 74 is *incertum an*.

<sup>68</sup> CM. 28; L. 4, 100.

<sup>69</sup> CM. 82; L. 87, 88, 89.

<sup>70</sup> CM. 82; L. 14.

<sup>71</sup> CM. 67; L. 12.

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<sup>73</sup> CM. 39; L. 33 (*optimi viri*). Thus are addressed the minor characters at the corresponding point in each dialogue.

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<sup>93</sup> Examples may be found in CM. 28, 40, 78 and L. 58, 59, 62, 64, 83. Of these particularly outstanding are *reminisci et recordari* (78) and *coniuncta et consociata* (83).

<sup>94</sup> Only one example of each figure from each essay will be cited in the following notes.

<sup>95</sup> CM. 80 (*excessissent ex eis emori*); L. 14 (*corporis, cui censemus cursum*).

<sup>96</sup> CM. 32 (*non plane . . . non affixit . . . non curia . . .*

The problem of identification is further complicated by Plutarch, who in his *Vita Tiberi et Cai Gracchorum* (4.4) preserves the assertion of the writer Fannius that he was one of the first to scale the walls of Carthage in 146. This Fannius seems to have been the historian who was the son-in-law of Laelius (*Ad Att.* XII.5.3). But if he was 30 in 129, then in 146 Fannius must have been 13. While it is not impossible, it is improbable that at that tender age (if we allow for the early maturity of Italian youth and the later use of equally young British midshipmen) Fannius could have performed that exploit. At any rate, we know neither the birth-date nor the death-date of any C. Fannius.

<sup>10</sup> *De Partitione Oratoria*, in which, however, three speeches require more than 10 sections each (70-82, 83-97, 98-113).

But it must be admitted that the extant portions of the *De Republica* and the *De Legibus* are somewhat Platonic in structure.

<sup>11</sup> CM. 10-12, 31, 43-44, 55-56, 66-67, 72; L. 1, 39-41, 45-55, 91-100.

<sup>12</sup> CM.: Euripides: 4, *Hercules Furens* 638-642; 77, *Polydus*. Plato: 4-9, *Politeia* 328B-331D; 7, *Symposium* 195B; 26, *Menexenus* 236A, *Euthydemus* 272C; 44, *Timaeus* 69D; 47, *Politeia* 329BC; 73, *Phaedo* 61C-62C; 77 & 81, *Phaedo* 67D and *Cratylus* 400C; 78, *Phaedo* 72E-77B, 78C-80E, *Phaedrus* 245C-246A, *Meno* 81E-86C; 83, *Apologia* 41A-C. Xenophon: 30, *Cyropaedia* VIII.7.6; 46, *Symposium* 2.26; 59, *Oeconomicus* 4.20-25; 79-81, *Cyropaedia* VIII.7.17-22. L.: Euripides: 45, *Hippolytus* 253-257. Plato: 3, *Theaetetus* 142C-143C; 13, *Phaedrus* 245C-246A, 248E, *Phaedo* 79D, 80D, 107D-108C, 113D-114C; 14, *Phaedo* 67D and *Cratylus* 400C; 19, *Apologia* 30A; 30, *Lysis* 215B. Xenophon: 62, *Memorabilia* II.4.1-4.

<sup>13</sup> While Plato in his *Apologia* gives the Pythian reply as *μηδὲνα σοφώτερον εἶναι* (21A), the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Nubes* 144 quotes the decree as *σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης*. *ἄνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σοκράτης σοφώτατος*. The loci are CM. 78; L. 7, 10, 13.

<sup>14</sup> CM. 39-41; L. 88.

<sup>15</sup> CM.: Plautus: 50, *Pseudolus* and *Truculentus* (titles only). Ennius: 1, 10, 14, 16, 50, *Annales*; 73, *Varia*. Statius: 24, *Synepheboe*; 25, *Plocium*; 25, *Ephesio*; 36, *Epiclesus*. Terentius: 35, *Phormio* 575; 65, *Adelphoe* (title only). L.: Plautus: 98, *Miles Gloriosus* (title inferred). Ennius: 22 & 64, *Varia*. Statius: 99, *Epiclesus*. Terentius: 89, *Andria* 66; 93, *Eunuchus* 252-253; 98, *Eunuchus* 391.

<sup>16</sup> While the *Laelius* exhibits two lines from the *Epiclesus* in 99, the *Cato Maior* cites only the last half of the first line in 36.

<sup>17</sup> CM.: Stoicism: 4, 5, 23, 51, 71, 73; Epicureanism: 43-45, 47, 85. L.: Stoicism: 6-8, 10, 18-21, 38, 48, 100; Epicureanism: 13, 14, 24, 26, 32, 45, 46, 51, 52. Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans are either mentioned or meant in CM. 23, 33, 73, 78 and in L. 13.

<sup>18</sup> CM.: Lex Cincia 10, Lex Voconia 14; L.: Lex Gabinia and Lex Cassia 41.

<sup>19</sup> These are presented best in the following table:

	CM.	L.
Apollo	78	7, 10, 13
Themistocles	8, 21	42
Socrates	26, 59, 78	7, 10, 13
Archytas	39-41	88
Pyrrhus	16, 43, 55	28
Hannibal	10	28
Maelius	56	28, 36
Curius	15, 43, 55, 56	18, 28, 39
Fabricius	15, 43	18, 28
Coruncanus	15, 27, 43	18, 28, 39
Ennius	1, 10, 14, 16, 50, 73	22, 64
Cato	3, 4, 6-8	4-6, 9-11, 21, 76, 90, 101
Paulus	15, 82	9, 21, 101
Galus	49	9, 21, 101
Laelius	3, 4, 6-9, 28, 35, 77, 85	1, 2, 4-6, 8, 15-17, 26, 32, 33
Scipio	3, 4, 6, 9, 19, 28, 29, 34, 35, 49, 68, 77, 82, 85	3-7, 10-12, 14, 15, 21, 33, 51, 59, 60, 62, 69, 73, 77, 96, 101-103
Atticus	1	2

<sup>20</sup> CM. 70, 77, 80, 81; L. 14. Note the phrases: *compagibus corporis* (77), *corporum vinculis* (81), *vinculis corporis* (14).

<sup>21</sup> CM. 4 (*Quibus . . . est*); L. 7 (*Hanc . . . putes*).

<sup>22</sup> CM. 5 (*quod . . . paremus*); L. 19 (*quia . . . ducem*). Note the phrases: *naturam optimam ducem* (5) and *naturam optimam . . . ducem* (19).

<sup>23</sup> CM. 77 (*Ego . . . nominanda*); L. 102 (*Mihi . . . vivet*).

<sup>24</sup> CM. 85 (*sin . . . irrideant*); L. 13 (*Neque . . . deleri*) and 14 (*Sin . . . mali*).

<sup>25</sup> CM. 43 (*quendam . . . referenda*); L. 32 (*qui . . . referunt*). Note the phrases: *omnia . . . ad voluptatem esse referenda* (43) and *ad voluptatem omnia referunt* (32).

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non rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites); L. 49 (ut honore, ut gloria, ut aedificio, ut vestitu).

<sup>97</sup> CM. 63 (salutari, appeti, decedi, assurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli); L. 11 (Quid dicam de moribus facillimis, de pietate in matrem, liberalitate in sorores, bonitate in suos, iustitia in omnis?).

<sup>98</sup> CM. 5 (opinione vestra nostroque cognomine); L. 37 (conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio). Neither the larger chiasmus in L. 26 should be overlooked: qui simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa nor should be neglected in CM. 77 the chiasmus of explanation, where munere quodam necessitatis et grave opere is explained by est . . . contrarium and by Sed . . . constantia, the former referring to opere and the latter referring to munere.

<sup>99</sup> CM. 7 (Saepe . . . solebant): even without the parenthesis pares . . . congregantur the anacolouthon probably would have occurred, for, if Cicero had continued with quas, we meet the difficulty that apparently in common use is no phrase wherein querella or a pronoun to which it is antecedent is made the object of a verb of saying. L. 7 (Te . . . putes): it seems that Cicero had intended to make Te the object of existimant; but, as it happens, Cicero, becoming involved in too long a sentence and pausing at iudicatum, made hanc esse in te sapientiam the object of existimant and left Te without syntax. In dialogue anacolouthon, of course, heightens the colloquial effect.

<sup>100</sup> CM. 30 (qui cum quadriennio); L. 39 (quippiam contendisse quod contra).

<sup>101</sup> CM. 65 (contemni . . . despici, illudi); L. 59 (angi, dolere, invidere). In the latter locus the climax is increased by the fact that each succeeding word has one more syllable than the preceding word. This trick is used also in L. 78 (iurgia, maledicta, contumeliae and 88 (velit, anquirat, desideret).

<sup>102</sup> CM. 1 (moderationem animi tui et aequitatem); L. 100 (conciliat amicitias et conservat).

<sup>103</sup> CM. 51 (occaecat . . . ex quo occatio . . . nominata est); L. 26 (Amor . . . ex quo amicitia nominata est).

<sup>104</sup> CM. 10 (de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius); L. 64 (Quamquam Ennius recte).

<sup>105</sup> CM. 39 (O praeclarum munus aetatis!); L. 47 (O praeclaram sapientiam!).

<sup>106</sup> CM. 56 (porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle); L. 21 (Paulos, Catones, Galos, Scipiones, Philos).

<sup>107</sup> CM. 56 (referta cella vinaria, olearia, . . . penaria); L. 26 (a natura ipsa profecta alia causa).

<sup>108</sup> CM. 48 (Turpione Ambivio); L. 39 (Papum Aemilium).

<sup>109</sup> CM. 10 (senem adulescens); L. 24 (Pylades Orestem).

<sup>110</sup> CM. 7 (nec inhumani); L. 4 (non invitus).

<sup>111</sup> CM. 32 (curia for senatus); L. 19 (Minerva for ingenio).

<sup>112</sup> CM. 38 (sensim sine sensu); L. 23 (absentes adsunt et egentes abundant et imbecilli valent et . . . mortui vivunt).

<sup>113</sup> CM. 52 (coercet ars); L. 88 (natura declaret).

<sup>114</sup> CM. 69 (et . . . et . . . et); L. 95 (et . . . et . . . et . . . et . . .).

<sup>115</sup> CM. 52 (Omitto . . . vim); L. 9 (ut alia omittam).

<sup>116</sup> CM. 72 (Ut . . . dissolvit); L. 5 (ut . . . amicitia).

<sup>117</sup> CM. 4 (Saepe . . . soleo); L. 26 (Saepissime . . . solet).

<sup>118</sup> CM. 17 (quibus . . . solet): quibus is ablative of separation with orbari and ablative of means with augeri; L. 59 (commodis . . . invidere): commodis is ablative with dolere and dative with invidere.

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## REVIEWS

**An Introduction to Linguistic Science.** By EDGAR H. STURTEVANT. viii, 173 pp. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947.) \$3.00

This volume, by the well-known linguistic scientist of Yale University, now emeritus, is "intended for readers with no previous knowledge of linguistics; it is hoped that no one will have difficulty in reading and understanding all of it. This does not mean that scientific problems have been avoided, or that the content of linguistic science has been watered down. . . . Obviously a book of this size is far from complete. It is hoped that most readers will go on to fuller discussions of the subject." But a wide range of topics is shown by the headings of the fifteen chapters: Introductory, Phonetics and Phonemics, The Relation of Writing to Speech, Records of Speech, The Origin of Language, Descriptive Linguistics, The Empirical Basis of Phonetic Laws, Why are Phonetic Laws Regular?, Assimilation and Dissimilation, Analogic Creation, Processes Sometimes Confused with Analogic Creation, Change of Vocabulary, Change of Meaning, Borrowing, The Comparative Method.

With the author's hopes all lovers of linguistics will heartily agree. To me, however, there are portions of the book which could be made easier for the non-linguist, without scientific loss. Thus, for example, the first two chapters seem to me somewhat too complicated; in certain places a translation of non-English phrases would be helpful; in §101 it should be mentioned that German *z* has the value of English *ts*, and in §123 that German *j* has the value of English *y*.

I proceed to remark upon individual items, in-

dicating them by paragraph and line, or by page and line. Page 11.1: The uvular *r* is not limited to the "French of certain provincial cities," but is characteristic of standard French. §22.4: The nasal twang does not belong to "some American dialects," but to some speakers of all American dialects. §23.5: French has, it is true "(relatively) level stress" in any word pronounced alone, but it actually has three kinds of stress: phrase-terminal prolongation on a higher or lower musical pitch; a stress for emphasis or contrast, on the first syllable that begins with a consonant; a stress to indicate emotion, always on the first syllable. §32.2.1-3: The linguistic tyro would be helped by a word or two showing that the hieroglyphic representations of 'captain' and 'mandate' are made *ad hoc*, and not actual Egyptian writings. Page 22, note 6: Neither Greek *oikos* nor Greek *iatrós* could ever have been written as here suggested, since syllabic writing never disregarded an initial vowel, nor an entire syllable. §33.19: Clarity demands a semicolon after [o]. Page 25.3 f.b.: Sturtevant's suggestion that the best way to improve English spelling might be to stop the teaching of spelling, is horrifying; I have seen the results coming from just that procedure, and can assure him that the result is chaos.

§45: A statement in the text should name the language in which these cuneiform syllabic characters are used. §48: Lapses in type occur and should be studied quite as much as lapses in speech. Page 36.3: [o <] should stand here instead of [o >]; but I could never see why < should indicate fronting and > the back position, since that is contrary to the direction in which we read, and is confusing. My own teacher, the late Morton W. Easton, taught me to use the other direction, so that fronting marches forward with the type and the pronunciation. Pages 40-50: The discussion of the origin of language is perhaps as good as could be made, but several other theories are at least equally probable. §82.5.1-end: The claim that current speech (apart from lapses) is correct, and that "condemned" usages are merely usages of class dialects, is not quite consistent with the branding of *lenth* for *length* as "substandard", page 89.8, but is in keeping with the proposal to abandon

the teaching of English spelling, page 25.3 f.b. Page 56.6: The vowel harmony of Turkish is rather more complicated than is here indicated, and is not determined necessarily by the quality of the immediately preceding syllable; and the agglutination of French (§87) is quite different from that of Turkish: in French it is of elements which precede the verb (except the affirmative imperative), and in Turkish it is of elements which always follow the noun or verb. Page 58.17: In Bantu the class-prefix of the subject is not prefixed to the direct object of the verb, an important exception. Page 60.4: Tagalog is widely spoken outside of Manila as well as in that city. §98.13-16: The trouble with the meaning of Latin *altus* 'high' and 'deep', is that *altus* means properly 'grown', in either direction from the plane in which we live, namely the surface of the earth; this is less of a difficulty than there is in English, where we can speak of a 'fast' horse, stuck 'fast' in a swamp. With *altus* the difficulty comes when we translate into another language; with *fast* the difficulty is in the original language.

Page 65.3 f.b.: German *Zagel*, given as cognate to Eng. *tail*, is entirely obsolete in standard German, but is only dialectal (commonly in an indecent sense). §103.1.16-17: *arbo*s and *Lases* lack the macron over the second vowel; so also *arbo*s in §103.2.2, and twice in §136. §103.2.4-7: In Italian, and in many languages, consonants are resistant to changes when beginning the second elements of compounds; therefore the failure of rhotacism in *po-situs* and *ni-si* is not surprising. §103.3.5: I find no evidence for participle *sessus* 'seated', in the masculine; it occurs in the neuter. §103.5.1-5: A remark that the source-languages of these words did not have rhotacism, would be helpful; but the tyro will wonder how such words as *basis* with intervocalic *s* could come from Greek, because note 8 (below) informs him that "in Greek *s* between vowels was lost." The tyro will be bewildered. §107.1: Insert "directly" before "derived", since French *grotte* is in fact derived from Latin *crupta*—but indirectly, through Italian, as the next sentence shows. §121.1-2: A reference to §16 is needed in connection with the *ch* of *pulcher*, etc.

Page 88.13-17: The *ar-* for *ad-* in some Latin compounds is rather a dissimilation, to avoid con-



fusion with assimilated compounds of *ab*; for *ad* and *ab*, if developing normally, give the same products before any one of a number of consonants. §130.2.2.1-end: Contact assimilations, when abnormal or substandard, are the products of rapid speech; note the lack of assimilation in *inborn*, *input*, and the like, which are not pronounced at great speed because both syllables receive accents. §136.23: The reason why neuter *melius* did not change its final *s* to *r* by analogy, is not the difference of gender from masc.-fem. \**meliōs* becoming *melior*, but the difference in the quantity of the preceding vowel: the neuter had short *o*, while all other forms had long *o*, so that nom. masc. when gen. -*ōs-es* becomes -*ōris*, nom. -*ōs* became *ōr* and then with regular shortening -*ōr*; but neuter -*ōs* regularly became -*ūs*. §138: Rather, the speaker, when he makes a linguistic innovation, does it subconsciously unless questioning compels him to reflect upon what he has said. §143: The difference between the two negative prefixes is that English *un-* is prefixed to more commonly used words and forms, and Latin-French *in-* to words that are less at home in English or are more learned. Page 104, notes, last line: Not Avestan *druxs*, but *druxš*. §151: On Latin clauses with verbs of fearing, I should rather say that "I fear" = "I do not wish", and in explaining I should put the object clause first. For the third person sentence, the object clause is merely a quoted wish; the difficulty then disappears. §154 end: The *anacolutha* (which term should be etymologically interpreted) throw light not on the nature of speech, but on the manner of the speaker's thinking. Page 108.15: It is not so much that analogic creation shows "lack of regularity," but that it operates irregularly: we can never be sure in advance whether the psychological factors involved will be strong enough to effect a change in words, especially as to whether the changed form will become standard usage. But many times we can predict what the analogical product will be if it is made. With this limitation, the last two lines of large type on page 109 are the most valuable formulations in linguistic science. But in the list of Greek forms, just above, two macrons are lacking over long vowels, and two are misplaced.

Page 110: I am glad to see emphasis placed on

contamination of words, which deserves even more space than it here receives; it is responsible not merely for lapses, but for many alterations of standard words which seem to be defying phonetic regularity. §160 end: Cf. my remarks on implied antecedents of pronouns, in JAOS 41.74-75, as well as in 35.348-50. Page 115: On "Fusion of inconsistent elements", and other contaminations, one might formulate thus: One word may affect another if it is of somewhat similar meaning or sound, if it is of an unlike meaning within the same general semantic category, if it is simultaneously present to the mind or the eye even though unlike in sound and meaning and in semantic category. §170: Popular Etymology, it should be stressed, does not always result in a meaningful interpretation, but merely in elements which are more familiar to the speaker. Page 132.3-7: The relevancy of the example is not clear; the antithesis is between *gēns ūna* and *opulentissima civitās*, a state which should be equal to any reasonable number of opponents.

Page 133: The Chapter on "Change of Meaning" begins with the sub-heading "Semantic Change Erratic." Even if it is, in one aspect, we can reduce it to order by postulating three types of change of meaning: enlargement of the field indicated by the word, reduction of the field, and transfer. In many words more than one of the three processes are involved, and every one has special sub-varieties. The real difficulty is that often the interfering influence or social institution has disappeared from human records, and cannot even be conjectured. Page 139.2: As a literal gloss for *multitūdō*, 'maniness' might better have been printed 'many-ness'. Page 141: Both Latin *respondit* and French *répondit* are preterit and not present, as they are translated. §208.12: That *pagoda* goes back to Persian is very dubious; in any case it came into English from Portuguese, which probably got it from Tamil, and Tamil from Sanskrit. §209: On words introduced into a language by scholars, it might be emphasized that in contact with another civilization and language the speakers of the first language acquire ideas, even whole fields of ideas, which they have never before had, and for which they have no words; unless they can utilize their own old words in new meanings, they must bor-

row words from the other language. The language from which the borrowing takes place usually represents a "higher" civilization, but not always: witness *igloo* and *kangaroo*, among others (§208). Page 156.23: Armenian *hem* should be *heru*. Page 157, lines 7, 8, 22: The *w* after *k* should be raised above the level of the other characters. In line 9, Gothic *saihs* is misprinted for *saihs*.

§229-§238: The account of Hittite, Proto-Indo-Hittite, and Proto-Romance is very good. But all our linguistic science must proceed from an assumption of some linguistic unity without interior dialectal differences (despite page 167), however soon thereafter differences may have developed. It may even be admitted that the original unity contained elements borrowed from some other linguistic unity; that does not upset the assumption of an original unity—it only means that we start from some arbitrarily fixed point in the progress of the language, and limit it to the area within which it is uniform.

In the Index (pages 169-173), I miss *ablaut*, *acrophony*, and *umlaut*: all essential terms. *Acrophony* might easily have been introduced in §32.3, and *umlaut* should come in at page 87.1-5. Both *ablaut* and *umlaut* are named in §209 as terms taken into English from German, but without interpretation.

I should be surprised if there is any item in this review that is not well known and appreciated by the author; a few only are differences of theory and opinion. For the other items, I regret that he did not so word his account as to leave no room for my criticisms; the extra space would have been at most a page or two, which might have been saved—if need be—piecemeal elsewhere. So finally I now, as at the outset, commend the volume to those for whom it is intended. My only fear is that the author has tried to compress too many things into too few pages.

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**Virgil.** By F. J. H. LETTERS. Foreword, 162 pp. (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1946.) \$2.00

This small volume contains six chapters, a brief Foreword and a short Conclusion but is without

Index and Table of Contents. The notes are extremely few. The purpose of the book, as stated in the Foreword, 'is in part an attempt to give general students some knowledge, and even appreciation, of the most famous Roman poets.' In harmony with this purpose all quotations of Latin are accompanied by a translation in English.

If the reader decides that Mr. Letters has presented little that can in strictness be called original or new, it is only fair to say that even the scholar will find much of value in the effective presentation of Vergil's personality and literary style. The book is characterized by deep sympathy with Vergilian poetry but enthusiasm is properly tempered with sound judgment and restraint. One can find little to criticize and much to praise. The book can serve very nicely as a general introduction to Vergil for college students and even more advanced students will find it well worth their reading. It is Vergil the poet and maker of poetry that is here presented.

The first chapter presents an analysis of earliest Latin literature and the old Saturnian verse, giving special consideration to such poets as Naevius, Ennius, Pacuvius, and Accius, the first two in particular. The uniqueness of Naevius and the *Bellum Punicum* are pointed out,<sup>1</sup> after which the work of Ennius as the first of the Roman Hellenizers is given considerable space. The peculiar function of the dream in Ennius is studied. Then follows some account of the post-Ennian epic with final emphasis on Varius and other poets contemporary with Vergil.

Chapter 2 considers Vergil's time and place of birth (near Andes), his earliest poems, which were mainly if not exclusively the *Bucolics*, his death at Brundisium, and burial in Naples, at a place now wholly unknown. Mr. Letters thinks that Vergil may have been partly of non-Roman origin, but that he was scarcely Celtic. He does not mention the much more likely Etruscan element. He seems to accept of the minor poems associated with Vergil the *Moretum* and the fifth of the *Catalepton*. I am not sure just what his belief is regarding the *Culex*.

The third chapter is devoted to the *Bucolics*.

Mr. Letters places needed emphasis upon the analogy between the sentimental phantasy and dainty coloring in the language of the *Bucolics* and pictorial art.<sup>2</sup> He is not unduly troubled by scenic 'inconsistency' and the urban figures in their ultra-rural settings, citing in this regard the practice of the later masque. He believes that Vergil frequently identified himself with his characters, as in the persons of Tityrus and Menalcas. Vergil's Alexandrianism, however, is contrasted with the originality and freshness of Theocritus. He suggests a child either of Pollio or of Augustus as the only proper and fitting wonder-child of the enigmatic fourth poem, but, at the same time, properly emphasizes the fact that such a poem as this would hardly be free of obscurity. One can not assent to his characterization of Vergil's taste as 'defective' when the poet describes the rams of the Golden Age as scarlet and yellow. The description may seem too picturesque but Vergil is giving a detail that was considered characteristic of the Golden Age; that is, the *labor* even of dyeing wool will be absent in that happy time since the fleeces will *grow* on the backs of the animals already dyed.

Chapter 4, on the *Georgics*, emphasizes the distinctive Italian character of both subject and literary treatment. Back of the poetry is the real Italy. In this work, which represents a remarkable blending of science and poetry, Vergil, as successor of Parmenides, Empedocles and Lucretius on the one hand, and of Hesiod on the other, reveals himself as the superior artist, although Lucretius in many ways is found to be the greater poet by virtue of the great power of certain detached sections. Mr. Letters dissects the *Georgics* with a high degree of understanding and definite appreciation of literary merit.

The two concluding chapters are devoted to the *Aeneid*. At the outset Mr. Letters calls attention to what he chooses to call Vergil's 'immense appropriate learning' as contrasted with Homer's freshness and spontaneity. Very properly he observes the difficulty which Vergil encountered as he composed the *Aeneid*,<sup>3</sup> and the unique importance of the *Odyssey* as a model, although he points to the fact that only on the island of the Cyclopes do Aeneas and Odysseus have an identical halting-place; and even here they have adven-

tures both different and similar. He makes the keen observation that in practically all of Aeneas' experiences in Africa and Italy Vergil has created his own mythology—a romantic mythology; for in these districts Aeneas has left the strictly Hellenic belt of the Mediterranean.<sup>4</sup> Dido, though recognized as a traditional figure, has been so highly developed by Vergil that she has become practically a 'myth of passion.' In Turnus, Mezentius and Camilla we see mirrored primitive Italy and its heroes, but this is an Italy with a strange wild loveliness. On the other hand, Aeneas appears hardly more than an abstraction.

The discussion of *Aeneid* VI and the Nether World is not particularly enlightening, repeating, as it does for the most part, the usual facts recorded by modern commentators. But the list of Vergilian predecessors in eschatology is very welcome—the Egyptians,<sup>5</sup> the Orphics, Pythagoras, Plato, and Homer. Again, Mr. Letters thinks, Vergil reveals many aspects of independence, as a consequence of which Hades to an unusual degree is the realm of the past, of ghosts, whereas Elysium represents the future, therefore it is the place of unborn souls. It is on this journey through Hades and Elysium that Aeneas experiences a remarkable transformation and becomes the first reborn Roman.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Letters offers no solution of the puzzling 'Gates of Dreams' claiming that both are located in Hades proper, not in Elysium.<sup>6</sup> Like some other writers, to avoid this difficulty he surmises that this passage would have eluded criticism had Vergil lived to revise it (*sic*).<sup>7</sup>

The Shield of Aeneas in the eighth book elicits great praise from Mr. Letters, who calls attention to the vividness of its pictorial art. The remainder of his discussion offers stimulating comments on sundry matters. A brief Appendix makes a few observations on the Latin Saturnian verse. One can only wish for a discussion of the twelfth book with its powerfully dramatic character, and the ninth, tenth, and eleventh books deserve more than a mere passing notice.

To the present reviewer this small volume is *multum in parvo*, a very welcome addition to the library of any serious Vergilian. There is com-

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paratively little with which to differ and the main criticism, perhaps, would be to call attention to certain omissions. The few notes, for example, cite among modern writers principally Sellar, Conington, Nettleship, and Ribbeck. Dante and Shakespeare supply most of the literary parallels. It may be, however, that the writer was strictly limited to the production of an 'economy' book, which surely must be more difficult to write than the voluntary short book. However that may be, we are grateful for what Mr. Letters has done and we can not berate him for what might have been. Let us be content to express the hope that he will continue his contributions to Vergilian interpretation at a later date.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> One must now add the recent paper of Rowell, *AJP*, LXVIII (1947), 21-46 on the original form of the *Bellum Punicum*.

<sup>2</sup> This emphasis on color in Vergil is repeated on pp. 85, 151, where the *Georgics* and the Shield of Aeneas are analyzed. The conspicuous use of color by Vergil has been studied by Hermann Gauger, *Optische und akustische Sinnesdaten in den Dichtungen des Vergil und Horaz*, Stuttgart, 1932, and by Sophie Schulbaum, 'La Symbolique de la Lumiere et Les Couleurs chez Virgile,' *Eos* XXXIII (1930), 117-37. Very few writers on Vergil, however, deign to consider such matters. The paintings of the so-called second Pompeian style offer good illustrations.

<sup>3</sup> This difficulty is recorded in a letter said to have been by Vergil to Augustus when the latter inquired about the progress being made on the *Aeneid* (Macrobius, *Sat.* I, 24, 11).

<sup>4</sup> This sharp division is found in *Aeneid* III, 506. Before that point in Aeneas' story he and his company have been traversing the eastern Mediterranean and the Greek world but from there on they are in the Italian world, which included Africa. This definite break lends a peculiar character to Book III.

<sup>5</sup> I called attention to the possible Egyptian influence in creating the traditional 'Gate of the Horns' in *The Gates of Dreams*, Baltimore, 1940. The concept was clearly legendary even in the *Odyssey*, hence of remote antiquity. I am inclined to identify the 'Gate of the Horns' with the passageway guarded by Cerberus, which gave access to the outer precinct of Hades.

<sup>6</sup> Of recent writers the late E. K. Rand, *The Building of Eternal Rome*, Cambridge, 1943, devoted a chapter (pp. 115-44) to 'The Ivory Gate', but finally concluded that it must be considered as 'one of the insolubles' in Vergil. My own belief, as set forth in the book cited in note 5, above, is that this 'Gate of Ivory' was at the exit from Elysium, as Vergil's words imply: Aeneas and the Sibyl leave Elysium through this gate.

<sup>7</sup> This practice of deciding when a certain passage in the *Aeneid* 'would have been revised by Vergil' is found especially in Mackail's commentary on the *Aeneid*, Oxford, 1930. It would appear, however, that it is one thing for Vergil to have expressed his dissatisfaction with the poem and his decision to revise it and quite another matter for modern students to know precisely what he would have changed.

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**The Odes of Pindar.** By RICHMOND LATTIMORE. xii, 170 p. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947.) \$2.75.

The brilliant, provocative, and often obscure poet of Thebes has fared well at the hands of scholarship in recent years, for in addition to Lattimore's book, at least three other noteworthy contributions have been made—Alexander Turyn's *Pindari Epinicia*, Gilbert Norwood's volume of Sather Lectures, with its wealth of detailed analysis, and Leonard Woodbury's thoughtful article on the Epilogue of *Pythia* 2 (*TAPA* 76, 11-30). For the present admirable little volume of translations a text might be sought in a verse from *Olympia* 2—'They speak to the understanding; most men need interpreters', for the book is, indeed, an interpretation.

The layman will find the prefatory note on Pindar and his Poetry very useful, for it contains a clear statement of the relations of the poet to his community in ancient Greece. Problems of subjective opinion are handled directly, but without an air of dogmatism. Thus the author discusses the difficult position of Pindar as a citizen of a medizing state during the Persian Wars, but adds a timely warning against drawing conclusions too freely about Pindar's political views from scant internal evidence. No inconsiderable light is thrown on the underlying point of view of the poet by the discussion of such topics as his enthusiasm for the very element of uselessness in the chariot races which so vexed his precursors and his followers.

In the preface there is also a good statement of the translator's understanding of the method followed by Pindar in his work and the extraneous influences which were brought to bear on him. For instance, the contract for the poem

may sometimes account for the inclusion of a meticulous and tedious mass of genealogical detail, while the subjective attitude of the poet would explain the elaborate introductions, curt endings, the appearance of casualness in introducing a myth, and the astonishing freedom of treatment in handling the details of accepted mythology.

The difficult and complex meters are dismissed with tantalizing brevity and a compromise on the ready comprehension of rhythms. Admitting the difficulty of understanding much of Pindar's poetry because of its allusiveness, the translator closes his introduction with an appealing and disarming observation: 'At his dazzling best, Pindar is perfectly clear; I can only hope that this will come out in the translation'. The balance of exposition and the English rendering recalls T. S. Eliot's contention that the function of prose is to elucidate, while poetry carries with it the privilege of subjective reflection.

This is not to say that Lattimore renounces his responsibility to the public when he essays the task of translation. Quite the contrary, though the reader, wise in advance or schooled by earlier confusion, will do well to keep his finger inserted at the appropriate place in the back of the book where brief and excellent notes are available. These range from one to a score of printed lines in length and contain an astonishing amount of pertinent information regarding the athlete who is celebrated, the field of his accomplishment, the date of composition, and the relation of myths, legends, or historical incidents, an understanding of which is so necessary if one is to appreciate the poetry rather than to labor in confusion.

It would be easy to praise in extravagant, but general, terms the beauty and effectiveness of the poetic rendering, the fidelity to the form and thought of the original, the retention of lofty, yet personalized sentiment, and the grudging admiration which the translator himself feels for 'the almost perverse brilliance' with which Pindar masters his difficulties. It will be more profitable, however, to mention some of the means by which these results are achieved, such as the use of short, forceful words which produce many verses in which monosyllables predominate; the succinct rendering of gnomie phrases, e.g., 'The

test of any man lies in action' (*Ol.* 4); or 'In the night of storm, it is well to have two anchors binding the fleet ship' (*Ol.* 6); the sharp angularity of English renderings which strike home with greater power than phrases weakened by a too ardent pursuit of beauty, e.g., 'I will try to straighten the story from the beginning' (*Ol.* 7); the interesting suggestions about the interpretation of some passages illustrative of Pindar's relation with other poets, e.g., Simonides (*Ol.* 9); the contrast between the well-sustained effort of *Olympia* 4 and the more diffuse effect of *Olympia* 13, where Pindar seems to suffer from an overabundance of material which he feels obliged by contract or personal inclination to include.

Lattimore has maintained his own effort in equal measure with the performance of Pindar, with the result that few Greek poets have been so completely and so effectively presented to the public in brief compass. A glossary of names concludes the book; the printing is excellent and no textual errors have come to my attention.

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**The Public Works of the Julio-Claudians and Flavians.** By FRANK CARD BOURNE. ix, 76 pp. (Dissertation, Princeton University, Princeton, 1946.)

The specular properties that are inherent in the program of public works of any regime have often attracted students to the tantalizing task of fusing the scattered and fragmentary evidence into a surface sufficiently mirror-like to reflect the problems and personalities of the period. It is to this task that the author of the dissertation under review has addressed himself.

The work is divided into an Introduction of fifteen pages, a classified list, constituting the major portion of the book, of the public works of the first two dynasties, and a select bibliography.

The author begins with a consideration of the republican precedents for the building of public edifices by the emperors and summarizes their individual activities in this type of construction. For the construction of roads, harbors, bridges, and canals by private individuals there was no republican precedent, and the emperors found themselves obliged to assume this burden. Five pages are devoted to the policies adopted by the

Julio-Claudian and Flavian emperors with regard to construction of facilities for transportation. This section seems to the reviewer the most satisfying portion of the Introduction.

Colonization, and efforts to improve the water supply are next discussed. A page is devoted to building in the interest of the Empire's defense, followed by a brief consideration of the elusive question of the financial resources of imperial building programs. In the concluding section nothing very positive, or new, is offered on the identity and status of the labor force employed on imperial building projects.

It is the classified list of public works that constitutes the chief value of the work. Here the building activity of each emperor has been listed chronologically under the headings: Edifices, Commerce and the Exploitation of Natural Resources, Aqueducts and Water Supply, Building for Empire Defence, and Colonies. The epigraphical material assembled in this list will be particularly welcome. More evidence, however, might have been drawn from numismatic sources. The bridges shown on Augustan and Neronian coins of Babba and on Augustan coins of Buthrotum seem to represent more substantive evidence for imperial subsidy to colonial building than the inferences advanced.

Useful as the work will prove to students as a collection of source material, it fails to show clearly, with the exception of the section on roads and commercial facilities, the relationship between the social and economic needs of the city and the empire which the imperial building program was designed to meet. The carefully integrated character of Augustus' building in and about the Forum, the Palatine, and the Campus Martius, and, likewise, in his reorganization of the city's water supply is easy to demonstrate. Most of his program was completed with the dedication of his Forum in 2 B.C. In the opinion of the reviewer it is this fact rather than the probable exhaustion of Egyptian spoils that accounts for the diminished building activity of Augustus' later years. The effectiveness of the Augustan construction in meeting the city's problems was probably also a more important factor in Tiberius' plans for public works than the conservative and frugal character generally attributed to him.

An investigation of the extent to which the various emperors made use of their programs of public works to relieve unemployment might, also, have contributed to a better understanding of the significance of public building sponsored by the Julio-Claudians and the Flavians. The author cites evidence which indicates that social considerations of this kind were weighed by imperial planners, but it remains undeveloped.

MERIWETHER STUART

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(Continued from page 207)

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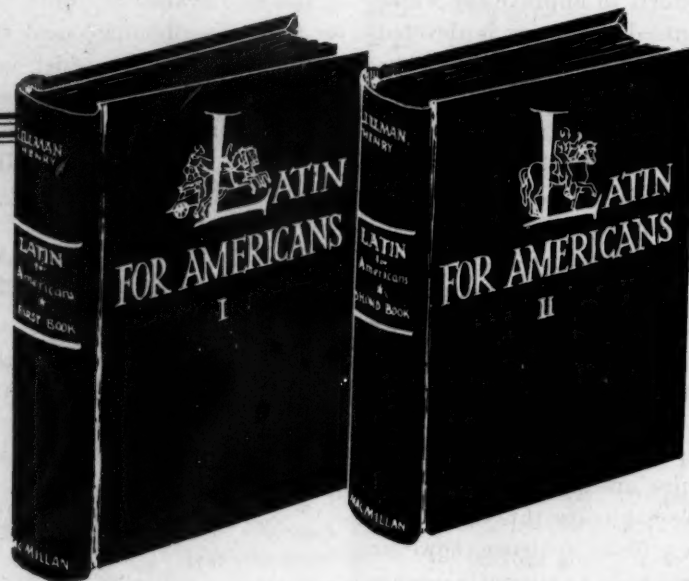
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